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The Suffragist

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THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

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Notes of the Week

Government Calls for Women's Help

BY special order of President Wilson, Mr. Herbert Hoover, proposed food dictator, has begun the mobolization of American women for food conservation.

Mr. Hoover's plan calls for the voluntary registration of women who have personal control of food. They are asked to sign a pledge that they will carry out the directions of the Food Administration; and they will be enrolled with full detail as to their resources. Women will be reached by the state defense councils and other organizations, under the supervision of the women's committee of the Council of National Defense and the Food Administration's own organization. Mr. Hoover said in his initial appeal to women:

"Since food will decide the war, each American woman can do a real national service by protecting the food supply of the Nation. Ninety per cent. of American food consumption passes through the hands of our women. In no other field do small things, when multiplied by our 100,000,000 people, count for so much.

"A pound of bread saved weekly for each person will increase our export surplus of wheat 100,000,000 bushels, and an average saving of 2 cents on each meal a day for each person will save to the Nation for war purposes, $2,000,000,000 per annum."

The government of this country is making a mistake to acknowledge women's national service even in this one field of work if it does not want soon to give them national responsibility.

Secretary Daniels a Democrat

THE Secretaries of Commerce, State, War and Navy have asked the heads of all bureaus under them to employ women in preference to men in clerical positions because of the need of men for fighting.

In pursuance of its work of looking after labor conditions of women in war service the National American Woman Suffrage Association has appealed to Mr. Redfield, Mr. Lansing, Mr. Baker and Mr. Daniels to get them to agree to pay the women employees taken on in place of men at the same rate as men. Secretary Daniels is the only one of the department heads who has so far made a statement in reply. He has said:

"I can assure you there is no intention on the part of this department to discriminate against women employes. All positions in the department are graded and the same rate of pay applies to each position, regardless of the sex of the incumbent."

Prohibition Party Demands Action on Suffrage

IN the present crisis for prohibition in Congress the Prohibition Party urges an emergency demand by letter and telegram upon the Administration. It asks a demand for the passage of three measures—war prohibition, the proposed amendment for full prohibition, and the Susan B. Anthony amendment. The Party says in its appeal sent out from its national headquarters:

"For forty-eight years the Prohibition Party has urged enfranchisement of our women upon the same terms as that of men, believing in a square deal for all, and in the principle that the only ideal successful government must be one participated in by all its people.

"Women should be immediately enfranchised for these reasons, and for the further reason that we need and must have their assistance in solving the great problems of government which must be solved, ere this great world war is won.

"Great Britain is now enfranchising its women, for that very reason. The same reason applies to us.

"Among the first acts of the greatest Republic on earth, the new Russian Republic, were the continuation of the National Prohibition policy, and the enfranchisement of thirty-five millions of women. In their first republican election, last week, women voted with the men throughout that vast nation, covering over one-seventh of the area of the globe."

The First Victory in England

THE English House of Commons on June 19 passed the last reading of that part of the electoral reform bill that enfranchises women. The vote was 385 to 55. Among the men who voted yes were the Premier, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Balfour, Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Reginald McKenna.

The debate was thoughtful but perfunctory. The attitude of the House was that of making an end of a matter about which there could no longer be question. Government whips were not used and the overwhelming majority was a free vote of the House.

On the next day the clause of the bill making the age qualification for women thirty was considered. An amendment to the bill was moved by Mr. Peto, who had opposed the vote of the day before. Sir George Cave, for the Government, declared that if this amendment passed he would no longer take the responsibility of the bill. It was defeated and the original clause passed.

Other clauses of the bill have still to be taken up and the bill will then go to the House of Lords. Little opposition now is expected there. The age qualification can only be a temporary war measure; the principle of equal suffrage is established in England, and 6,000,000 women enfranchised, while the United States government still plays provincial politics with this universal movement.

A Woman in the Russian Council

THE Council of Sixty-One, now sitting in Russia to draft the permanent constitution of the country and to prepare for elections to the Constituent Assembly which will pass on it, has one woman member, Dr. Schischkina Yavein. This preparatory council is made up of a group of constitutional specialists, deputies from the army and from all political parties, representatives of the Jews, Poles and other races, and the representative of women.

Dr. Yavein is head of the Defenders of Women's Rights, the Russian suffrage organization. She is a physician and at the beginning of the war she was chief of a hospital unit supported by Russion women.

The provisional government has submitted to this Council its plan for the election laws for the Constituent Assembly, to be based on "universal, equal, secret and direct voting by both sexes." The government made the first use of this principle in the recent district and municipal elections, when universal suffrage was applied for the first time in Russia, and the Council of Sixty-One will undoubtedly follow the government's lead in this matter.

The World's First Woman Minister

THE Countess Sophie Panin has been given the post of Assistant Minister of Social Tutelage in Russia. This is a department of state with the function of administering charitable and social institutions and the care of children.

The Countess is an active member of the Social Democratic party. She has long been interested in social work, and has turned her palace into a People's House as a kind of popular university and recreation place. She has declared in a statement to the press that her staff of officials will be made up largely of women.

Woman's War Work in Germany

IN 1907 only 68,000 of the eight million women in German industry were employed in metal works because the heavy work necessary was thought unsuited to women. On July 1, 1916, 3,827,640 women were at work in munition industries.

An investigation made by the Metal Workers' Union showed the conditions under which these women work as a result of the emergency bill passed by the Reichstag to set aside all regulations for the well-being of women, young people and children employed in factories. Only 36 per cent work a nine-hour day, and 63 per cent work over sixty hours weekly at this dangerous, difficult work. In many cases the munitions workers put in 84 hours a week, sometimes working from 17 to 24 hours at a stretch.

A Frenchwoman on the Picket Line

By Suzanne Morin Swing

"BUT, do they picket in France?" "But I did not think French women approved of picketing"—and so many incidental questions are thrust at me, as I stand on the picket line.

No, French women do not approve of picketing; they disapprove of anything that makes them conspicuous. But this country must realize how ridiculous and unnecessary such a measure would be in France.

France has not only the reputation for logic all the world over, but it deserves the title to logical evolution. Where a reform, a progressive step, has become logically necessary, France has taken that step. Labor laws, pensions, workmen's insurance, were in existence in France before they had been thought of in other countries. And so with suffrage.

The world says, "But what of suffrage in France? We hear nothing about it." In France, woman's position is exceptional. In spite of what self-righteous Americans may think, it is not correct to say that this is the land of lands where women are respected. It is true that, in a small group, men labor here to give the women every luxury; in a very small group that is true. Below this level, women toil, not only for bread, but for the most simple recognition of their efficiency, of the faithfulness with which they perform their tasks. This is America.

IN France, a husband's devotion is not as showy, perhaps; it is also less superficial. "American men make the best husbands." Let us say instead that American men shoulder more than their share of the family burdens. A Frenchman calls in his wife when a problem comes up, discusses it with her as with his most efficient partner, trusting her judgment and her clean common sense; she truly co-operates. Therefore in France, the saying is true that "suffrage is unnecessary because women influence the voters."

During this period of national crisis, however, when the women are doing more than their share of work, doing their own plus the shares of husband, brother, son . . . when they are proving to the world by their quiet, steadfast strength that they can see and accomplish their larger duties, silently, efficiently, France has suddenly realized that the time has come to take the women into the nation's counsel, and France is giving the vote to the mothers, the wives, the daughters.

Meanwhile, man-made law has made me American, willy nilly, simply because my husband is American! And I face new problems—problems of race and nationality, problems of economic adjustment.

Glancing over the laws which govern wage-earning women, a foreigner is confirmed in his belief that the respect of American men extends only to his immediate feminine circle. It is not respect for womanhood; it does not include the immigrant Pole who works in the factory. It makes him say: "I would be glad to give you the vote," "you" meaning "my sister, my friend, whom I have helped to train along the paths, I, man, have laid ready for you," not "you, women, who have always borne the burdens of the race." And American man says this because he wishes to control his incoming partner, he who is governed by tradition and custom, he who is blind to the most crying needs. Combining capitalistic interest in politics with puritanical conservatism in the home circle, America dreads reform.

It is, therefore, French logic which guides me to the ranks of the protesting women, who hold the banners of purple and gold, demanding justice and equality—those women who stand on guard at the gates of the stronghold of stubborn conservatism as delegation after delegation from the armies of the great revolution bring their plea to us.

THEY called this "the land of the free." They said: "England is the centuries-old land of tradition; in France girls have to obey their parents even in the choice of a husband; and Russia is only struggling for light." But dare they call this "the land of the free—this land where millions of men, women and children starve and die in order that a dozen may wax rich from their blood,—this land where the women who understand must stand idle, wringing their hands in grief and shame—this land where the women must bear the title of citizen which they cannot deserve—this land where the women long to do their share, to do it intelligently, freely—and where man still believes that he should guide her? This is the land which assumes the title of "Free" and claims to lead others to freedom.

Should not America rather look to Russia for initiative,—to England for humility in recognition of truth,—to France, as ever, for light, for courage, for decision in carrying out a new task clearly seen? Should she not rather humbly go with the others in search of freedom?

THOSE and many other thoughts, just as pessimistic, surge in the mind of the "picturesque picket," as she stands watching the ever-changing crowd: the crowd that smiles at time, a friendly smile,—the crowd which bears toward us the Belgian Mission, grave with the sorrows of those who have lost freedom; the Russian Mission, triumphant as those who have achieved freedom, and also the Presbyterian Mission, happy, satisfied, because they have truth, righteousness, and will always have it.

She stands weary of foot, but ever willing, trying to convince our blind and devotedly self-instituted guardians that she is quite old enough to take care of herself, and that she might even be given something to do for the common weal.

In this way does a French woman remain true to her traditions and also to the logic of her convictions. At home she would not need to do picket duty, as she could rightly expect justice. In America she needs must fight for justice.

The Democratic National Committee Urges Federal Suffrage

THE Democratic National Committee at their national headquarters in the Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., voted this week to urge the President to call the two Houses of Congress together and recommend the immediate passage of the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment to the Constitution of the United States. After the meeting at which this vote was taken Mr. Carter Glass seemed anxious to give the impression that the vote had merely expressed the personal convictions of the committee. This anxiety, however, on his part to have his opinion recorded does not lessen the importance of the committee's having taken such action. In submitting and passing such a drastic resolution, from the standpoint of the Democratic party, the party has taken its longest step ahead since the St. Louis Democratic Convention, and practically changed the status of the suffrage situation, politically considered, in this country.

The consideration of suffrage as a war measure was urged before the committee by Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, chairman of the Political Committee of the National Woman's Party. Mrs. Baker and her co-workers, Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall and Miss Maud Younger, had interviewed all the members of the Democratic Committee then in Washington prior to the formal session of the Committee, and the members were predisposed to regard federal suffrage at this time as a measure entitled to serious consideration.

Through Mr. Mitchell Palmer of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Baker secured a hearing before the committee and was able to present the feeling of protest felt by thousands of American women at this time in the face of the war crisis. The gentlemen present were Vance McCormick, chairman, presiding; Carter Glass, Virginia; W. W. Marsh, Iowa; E. H. Moore, Ohio; A. A. Jones, New Mexico; and Mitchell Palmer, Pennsylvania.

Mrs. Baker said in part:

I COME before this Committee to ask your co-operation in securing the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, not as suffragists, but as men of power high in the councils of a nation which is now at war. I understand that the National Committee is vested with all power of the Democratic party in the intervals between conventions. I come to you as the brain and hand of that party. The President has said that he will welcome an expression of opinion upon the federal amendment from leaders of his party. I ask you to recommend to him the immediate passage of our amendment, in order that the power of this nation which is behind the firing line may be raised to its highest co-efficient of energy.

"You know better than I that unless our resources are so raised this war cannot be brought to a successful conclusion. For it is not by the valor of the fighting men alone, but by the levy en mass of the entire nation, that its issues will be decided. In order that a happy end may be achieved it is important that all sources of unrest and antagonism be, as far as possible, removed, and that time, energy, and money now devoted to attaining the political freedom of women be released to serve the government in other ways.

"The agitation for woman suffrage will not cease whether the country is at war or at peace. In this connection, I wish to emphasize that if we succeed in making our country free, we shall feel that we have rendered it the highest possible service. But whether we succeed or not, the responsibility for any loss this nation may receive from our continued struggle is with the government and not with us. The responsibility for continued agitation rests with those who refuse and not those that seek justice.

I ASK you to recommend the immediate submission of our amendment, in order that the deep and burning resentment in the hearts of women may be appeased. The women to whom the government must look and on whom it must lean, are almost without exceptions, suffragists. For the overwhelming majority of women active-minded enough to be organized and to be doing the work of the world, are suffragists. Please do not think that I am voicing any threat. Women will serve, whether they are enfranchised or not. But it is not humanly possible for them to bring the same courage and enthusiasm to their service if they have not that calm of spirit which the President says comes from a sense of justice. Women are mobilizing now.

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee, I ask the immediate submission of the national woman suffrage amendment, not only to appease the resentment in the hearts of women called upon by this government to bear such burdens and to suffer such anguish, but also to arouse the interest of the women in the government, and—since it is the will of the government to wage war—in the war.

"It has been suggested that the potential political power which will immediately accrue to women upon the submission of the amendment to the state legislatures—I say 'potential' because it is probable that the passage of the amendment will not for several years actually enfranchise a single woman, it will only put the nation on record—that this potential political power may weaken the government in the prosecution of war.

"I would like to remind the committee that it is the boast of the Southern men that the Civil War was prolonged at least a year by the resolution of the Southern women. Australia, where women have voted for many years, has made a magnificent record in the war. Canada, where they vote in more than half the provinces, is not far behind. And in our own country, the eleven states which lead the list of recruiting in proportion to population, are woman suffrage states.

"Of course, I do not mean women will say, 'I have a vote, therefore I will urge my husband or my son to go to war.' But I do say that the women who feel themselves a part of the government and a responsible part of the nation make the homes from which the greatest number of soldiers go.

"I ask this committee, therefore, officially to urge upon the President the immediate submission of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, or, if such official action is not proper, that each member of your committee go to him individually and beg him to put his power behind this amendment."

ARE you asking that we boss the President of the United States," asked Mr. Palmer, to which Mrs. Baker rejoined in the same spirit, that she demanded no miracles. A burst of appreciative laughter was the response, which quieted to instant sobriety when she went on: "The President has said that he would welcome expression of opinion from the leaders of his party. He said in my presence a short time ago that he would welcome a spontaneous movement in Congress for the passage of the amendment. . . . Two-thirds of the Republicans have already voted for us, and we hope the Democrats may do as much for us."

When Mr. Marsh pointed out that a suffrage committee had been created this Congress as a preliminary step, Mrs. Baker responded: "We don't need more machinery in Congress. We need greater force rather than more machinery. There is machinery enough there already to pass our amendment. There has been enough there to pass seventeen amendments and the eighteenth can be achieved by the same process. However, if you gentlemen wish another committee we do not object! . . . The truth is, as soon as our amendment seems likely to pass, we are confident that the struggle of both parties to get on the band wagon is likely to push the suffragists off altogether!"

AT this point Carter Glass of Virginia, a gentleman previously opposed to the amendment in question, proposed immediate action: "I move that this Committee officially urge upon the President that he call the two Houses of Congress together and recommend the immediate submission of the Susan B. Anthony amendment."

It was with these momentous words that all past precedent was upset by the national executive committee of the Democratic party. Four of the six committee members voted for the measure and two against. There was a quorum present.

The Suffragist

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THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced
In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917 by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred
In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Present Status
In the Senate
Before the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House
Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted
In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee
In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.
In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916. Without recommendation.

Voted Upon
In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Women Speak

THE appeal of American women, at the very gates of the White House, to the envoys of the Russian nation rang across the country and was echoed in far-off Russia itself.

It was a just and beautiful appeal. Russia has made itself free and has invited the nations of the world to join her in a federation of freedom. We who are struggling for liberty take the hand of Russia and ask her to help us.

Russia is in truth "mighty to save." At this moment she has enormous power over our government, in the only way it is possible to have power over a government,—she has something to give which it needs. Russia is indispensable to the United States at the present time. She can have whatever she asks as the price of allegiance.

We ask Russia to ask our government for the liberty of American citizens. No more honorable plea could be made by one country to another.

We ourselves have asked foreign nations to do justice to their people. In this very year over a hundred Congressmen signed a petition addressed to the British Parliament, urging it to grant self-government to Ireland. Such a measure, they believed, would create a deeper faith among the American people in the democratic purposes of the war; and would convince them that England was sincere when she said she was fighting to preserve the right of small nations to govern themselves. They urged the passage and enactment of a Home Rule Bill as a war measure. The British Government, as a matter of fact, has been obliged in deference to the moral force of public opinion both at home and abroad to reopen a discussion of the Irish question and make a fair attempt to settle it.

The same reason will undoubtedly influence the Russian envoys to ask the United States government to deal fairly with American women. They will point out that it will kindle among the Russian people a greater faith in our claim that we are fighting a world war for democracy, if we respect democracy at home.

It was understood at the time Mr. Balfour was in the United States that the Irish question was one of the matters that came up for discussion in the war councils at Washington. We ask now that freedom for the women of this country be discussed at the war councils of our government with the representatives of free Russia.

The Woman's Party Appeals to the Russian Mission

To the Russian Envoys:

President Wilson and Envoy Root are deceiving Russia. They say, "We are a democracy. Help us win a world war so that democracies may survive."

We, the women of America, tell you that America is not a democracy. Twenty million American Women are denied the right to vote. President Wilson is the chief opponent of their national enfranchisement.

Help us make this nation really free. Tell our government that it must liberate its people before it can claim free Russia as an ally.

THIS was the accusation and the appeal, written large on a ten-foot banner, which was carried by the suffrage pickets to the gates of the White House on the day on which the Russian Mission was officially welcomed by President Wilson.

The car carrying the Russian diplomats hurtled through the gates of the White House too swiftly to read the great white banner; all they could have caught was the gleam of the purple and gold banners of the sentinels held high above the crowd. And twenty-three minutes after the now-famous accusation levelled at the government had appeared it was torn from its supporting frame in shreds by a "patriotic" bystander, a man.

But the words on the suffrage banner which accused the administration of indirection and insincerity in dealing with twenty million citizens of this republic had already been flashed straight across the country into every city and town; had been cabled to free Russia and struggling Germany and England and France.

The members of the Woman's Party in carrying their protest on a banner to the very gates of the White House for the Russian diplomats to read chose the only means they could use to reach the members of the mission and the American people as a whole. Unable to arrange a deputation to the mission they voiced their appeal on a banner carried to the picket line. Like demonstrations on the suffrage picket line have appealed to every mission that has yet come to this country Special banners were displayed for the French and the English missions. The wording on the appeal to Russia was simply designed to fit the existing situation. Miss Lucy Burns of New York and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis of Philadelphia, both members of the Executive Committee of the National Woman's Party, were the bearers of the appeal to Russia.

Starting for the White House at twelve o'clock, attended by the two purple-and-gold standard bearers of the lower gate, the two women and the great lettered banner arrived at the upper gate by which the mission from Russia would enter but a few moments before the mission. Rumors of the appeal of the suffragists had spread, and a great crowd had collected in front of the far Pennsylvania Avenue gate of the White House, which the White House guards tried to keep back from the gates. The crowd was for the most part composed of men, women from time to time pausing and passing on.

The swift arrival and departure of the Russian Mission through the gates aroused one loudly talking citizen to action. He made a leap for the big banner and tore the muslin sign from its supports, afterwards passing his card out to admirers among the crowd and to police officers. The card read Walter S. Timmis, Architect, New York City. Miss Burns and Mrs. Lewis continued to stand facing the crowd of men with the empty frame supported by the suffrage colors which have come to mean freedom for women in this country.

Miss Burns, in speaking of the incident afterward, said:

"As long as the Russian Mission is in the Capital we will continue to appeal to them, as members of a nation free in fact, to help free by their attitude the women of this nation. We wished to call the attention of the Russian Mission to the fact that when the President deals indirectly with a great ally he is not acting honestly. Mr. Root declared in Petrograd a few days ago that his mission came from a great democratic republic where 'universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage' obtained. He knew he was speaking falsely. He told the Russian people that 'We love liberty and we cherish above all our possessions the ideals for which our fathers fought and suffered and sacrificed that America might be free.'

"We suffragists wish this great new Republic, free in fact, to know that until the twenty million American women who are bearing and will bear a large share of the burdens of the present war are enfranchised nationally this is not a free government. We are, in short, asking free Russia to speak to a deaf Executive on our behalf."

Miss Alice Paul, national head of the Woman's Party, in answering the criticisms of the men who protested against the banner and felt the reflection it conveyed so keenly that they destroyed it, said:

"After all it is those who deny justice and not those who demand it who embarrass this country in its international relations. The intolerable conditions against which we protest can be changed in the twinkling of an eye. The responsibility for our protest is therefore with the government and not with the women of America, if the lack of democracy at home weakens the government in its fight for democracy three thousand miles away."

Warm support of the stand taken by the suffragists at the gates of the White House is coming from every part of the country. New York women, loyal to the Woman's Party stand, voiced their support through Mrs. John Winters Brannan, acting state chairman of the Woman's Party state branch.

"When people tear down banners inscribed with such glorious sentiments," she said, "it shows how little regard they have for truth and democracy.

"Certainly we will not withdraw the pickets! Such a proceeding would be very short-sighted. Without the pickets and their banners, suffrage would have been absolutely put aside these last months.

"When Mr. Root says that suffrage in America is universal and equal, he has deliberately said the thing which is false.

"It is well for the Russian mission to know that American women will not submit to such calculated misstatements. We are as intent on democracy as they are, and we know the sham from the false. It is striking to turn to the news cables and see what real progress England and Russia are making toward democracy, while in this country men continue to lather with fine phrases about freedom."

In reporting the latest step in the logical demand for passage of the suffrage amendment as a war time measure, as planned by Miss Paul, the Philadelphia *Record* remarks: "It is not to be denied that her campaign embodies a sort of aggressive strategy that has won many other public battles. The vantage point from which she launched the new drive of her emissaries is an overt statement which she claims was made by Minister Plenipotentiary Elihu Root in his recent address to the people and government of Russia. . . . Former Secretary Root spoke of our 'universal suffrage system'."

Woman's Party Continues Summer Conferences

IN the midst of the clamor of war activities in every section of the country, outstanding groups in every state are making their demands for suffrage legislation, part of the program of protective war legislation, heard in the present crisis. Last week three important conferences of the National Woman's Party were held in widely separated states. In Connecticut the first annual conference of the Woman's Party branch was held in Hartford. In the center of the great Northwest, in St. Paul, Minnesota, the Minnesota conference was held. In Richmond, Virginia, the annual conference of an active Southern branch was held. In the East, the West and the South, these conferences prove, a new spirit is developing in women as the full significance of what their share is in the war this nation has entered upon without consulting them is realized.

This new protest and new demand were voiced at both sessions of the Connecticut conference, which brought women from all sections of the state to hear notable speakers, including Miss Elsie Hill of Norwalk, Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins of New Jersey, Rabbi H. W. Ettelson of Hartford, Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles of Delaware, and Dr. Allen McCurdy of New York.

"Congress is making the women of this nation at this time waste energy on something it should have given them years ago," declared Dr. McCurdy in his ringing speech on the changing war values and their effect on the status of women, "Pound the controlling party until it fears you," he advised them, "and then it will eat out of your hands."

Over eighty men and women attended the conference luncheon, held in the assembly-room of the Hartford Club under the great golden banner brought from the Washington picket line, and inscribed with the President's war message which suffragists have been quoting to him since its utterance. Dr. Valeria H. Parker acted as toastmistress, with Mrs. William D. Ascough, state chairman, presiding. Mrs. Frederick H. Sykes of New London, wife of the president of the Connecticut College for Women, whose subject was "The Progress of the Party," said that the party, which is now two years old, has "done nothing but grow;" that its first step was to proceed from state to federal action and the second step in its growth was to understand the political power which leads to action. The slogan of the party is "On to Washington," which leads in a straight line, instead of a circle, and brings every member within the Congressional arena."

Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, chairman of the New Jersey branch, emphasized the fact that "there are one thousand ways in which a woman who has suffrage at heart can do her bit for the federal suffrage amendment. Rabbi Ettelson in detailing his suffrage creed declared that men should be as active as women in the Woman's Party work since the "federal suffrage amendment is a short-cut to a high aim." Miss Elsie Hill, coming straight from the White House picket line to the conference, made a deep impression when she told of the courageous sentinels and the certain effect their work has had in every section of the country.

At the business session following the luncheon, opened by Mrs. George H. Day, a member of the National Advisory Council of the Woman's Party, the following officers were elected: chairman, Mrs. William D. Ascough; vice-chairman, Mrs. Rosemary Anderson, of New London; secretary, Mrs. Phil Moore Leakin; treasurer, Mrs. William Bradford Green. The resignation of Mrs. F. H. Sykes, vice-chairman, after untiring and enthusiastic service, takes a valued member from the Connecticut work. Mrs. Sykes will take up the Woman's Party activities in New York, where she is to make her home. Two hundred and fifty dollars was collected at the conference meetings to carry on the Woman's Party national program.

THE new spirit of women toward self-government has nowhere been more manifest than in Minnesota, where Miss Beulah Amidon during the last two weeks has held a large number of meetings in Minneapolis and St. Paul, with Miss Sarah Grant, national organizer, reaching dozens of state gatherings. Prior to the state conference of the Woman's Party, held in St. Paul last week, there were many demands for addresses by Miss Amidon. At the luncheon given by Minneapolis clubs and suffrage organizations at the Hotel Leamington for Miss Amidon, and at the conference twelve hundred dollars was collected for the federal amendment work in Washington.

Mrs. Dana Durand, district chairman of the Woman's Party, presided at the luncheon. At the speakers' table with Miss Amidon were Mrs. A. H. Bright, Mrs. Alden Potter, Mrs. Andreas Ueland, Minnesota chairman of the National Woman Suffrage Association, Mrs. A. H. Simpson, Mrs. M. D. Purdy, wife of the Minnesota Progressive, Mrs. H. G. Harrison, and Miss Sarah Grant. Miss Amidon's talk dealt largely with the changing attitude of the South on suffrage, and the effect it is having in the North. "We know that in their hands is the power to end this long struggle of American women for political justice," said Miss Amidon, "and in that they are beginning to realize and use their power lies our hope." Miss Amidon gave a dramatic description of the work of the pickets and their effect, and "left not a suffragist of the Twin Cities who was not converted to the suffrage picket," as one club woman declared. Mrs. A. R. Colvin gave an inspiring account of the last national convention and its significance, and read Dr. Allen McCurdy's address at that conference.

The following officers of the Minnesota Woman's Party were elected for the coming year's work for the amendment; state chairman, Mrs. A. R. Colvin, St. Paul; vice-chairmen, Mrs. Alden H. Potter, Mrs. H. C. Harrison; treasurer, Mrs. Anne McCoy; executive secretary, Miss Sarah C. Grant.

Before leaving for her home in North Dakota Miss Amidon spoke at many meetings and receptions, including several out-of-door mass meetings at which hundreds of men and women realized for the first time the relation of federal amendment workers to the present national crisis. At a largely attended reception at the home of Mrs. A. H. Bright, Miss Amidon spoke for the first time in Minneapolis. As the guest of Mrs. C. A. Severance she was also entertained at a luncheon at the St. Paul University Club, and dramatized the present suffrage battle to a new group.

On the same day an outdoor mass meeting was held outside the Lutheran Convention Hall, where a great crowd stood for over an hour to listen to the story of the fight for national enfranchisement. At this impromptu meeting every available SUFFRAGIST was sold and a spontaneous collection taken up for the federal work in Washington. Monday noon at the same point another outdoor meeting was held for the benefit of the Lutheran delegates from the Northwest and all parts of Canada. Miss Amidon also spoke at a luncheon given in her honor by Mrs. A. R. Colvin, at the St. Paul College Club, and at the Woman's Welfare League, where women stood all afternoon to listen to the story of the work in Washington, so crowded was the big hall. Resolutions asking for immediate action on suffrage were passed at all of these gatherings and forwarded to the President and to Congress to show the sentiment of Minnesota.

"The women of Minnesota," said Miss Grant," are not refusing to do their share of war service, but they are voicing more firmly than ever before their deep sense of injustice that our government still deprives them of political liberty."

THE Virginia branch of the Woman's Party held its annual meeting on June 9th, at the Jefferson Hotel, Richmond, Virginia. Four district chairmen were present and Norfolk and Hopewell sent delegates. The meeting was well attended and full of interest.

Reports were read from the officers and the delegates, including a most encouraging report from Miss J. S. Jennings, legislative chairman,

covering her work. More than twenty-five hundred letters have been sent out by her within the last five months, demanding national action on suffrage.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: chairman, Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith; vice-chairmen, Mrs. Pauline F. Adams, Norfolk; Mrs. Dexter Otey, Lynchburg, Dr. Helen-Love Boissieux, Hopewell; secretary, Mrs. Marion T. Reed; treasurer, Mrs. Dorothy T. Urquhart.

After the executive meeting, a luncheon in honor of Miss Lucy Burns was served in the Flemish Room, decorated with palms and gay with Woman's Party banners. Miss Burns made a most inspiring speech, emphasizing the importance of a true democracy in the United States and its influence on Russia and the rest of the world at this time. She made it very clear that picketing, so much criticised, is a very patient and effective way of asking for the vote.

IN her intensive organization work in Pennsylvania Miss Iris Calderhead has recently spoken at the annual conference of the State Federation of Women's Clubs in Milton. With Miss Lavinia Dock as speaker street meetings have been most sucessfully managed by Miss Calderhead in the towns of the 17th and 20th Districts of that state, so that crowds unfamiliar with the fight women are making for the passage of the federal amendment now may understand the need of the movement at this time and join it.

Miss Calderhead has spoken also in Chambersburg before the city suffrage association, at which meeting Mrs. Grace Kempler gave her impressions of the picketing in Washington and what it has done to keep suffrage held up before the minds of the country. Mrs. Kempler, for years leader of suffrage work in Franklin County, has recently joined the federal amendment fight. Miss Calderhead has spoken at other meetings in Huntingdon, Mifflintown, Duncannon, McConnellsburg and Mercersburg.

Mrs. Frederick C. Howe, wife of the Commissioner of Immigration of New York City, spoke this week at Haverford, Pennsylvania, on "Suffrage and Patriotism." Mrs. Howe, as the newly elected chairman of the City Committee of the Woman's Party in New York, has definite ideas as to the importance of suffrage at the present time, and made her point felt. The meeting was held at the residence of Miss Mary Winsor under the auspices of the Pennsylvania branch. Miss Bertha Sapovits is holding out-of-door meetings on suffrage as a war measure in Philadelphia, her automobile, contributed by Ryerson W. Jennings, attracting much attention because of its Woman's Party and American flags combined.

A Republican Leader Comes Over

SENATOR HARDING of Ohio, Republican leader high in the councils of his Party, was interviewed by a group of suffragists in Columbus, about a week ago, to ascertain his progress in regard to national woman suffrage. They were encouraged to find he had come all the way to the amendment.

The Senator's position regarding suffrage when he was interviewed in 1915 by the women of his state was non-committal. He had felt that the enfranchisement of women was the concern of his party, not of individuals, and maintained that he would follow whatever the Republican party decided as the proper course of action. Until this most recent interview Senator Harding has always consistently held to his position of June, 1915.

In 1916 the Senator from Ohio made the keynote speech at the Republican National Convention. Before he spoke he was interviewed by members of the Woman's Party. In this interview he was asked to mention suffrage in his speech, recognizing it as one of the important issues before the country. But the speech was made with no mention of suffrage in it. When the suffrage plank was read at the Republican Convention Senator Lodge gave the memorable wink of satisfaction at Senator Harding.

But in his interview last week the Senator emerged from the mist of the non-committal atmosphere and stood out in the open. He went on record as favoring the federal amendment.

One of the members of the Woman's Party present at the interview, Miss Florence Anne Ralston, writes that Senator Harding said definitely that he would vote for a federal suffrage amendment "if occasion arose." This leaves no loophole. Occasion will arise. According to Speaker Champ Clark it is as certain to come as death and taxes.

Miss Ralston reports as follows from the interview last week. "He said in his opinion the suffrage amendment stood a very slim chance of passing in this present Congress, but he felt sure it would be brought up in the next Congress and would pass."

AN interesting sequel to this deputation happened in the Senate on June 8 when Senator Lewis of Illinois attacked Senator Harding in debate for reference he made to the liberty bond issue in his talk to the women of Columbus on "the all pervading question of suffrage."

In his reply Senator Harding said: "I said this and I choose to repeat it here: 'That it was not up to the United States to force democracy upon the world; that it were better that by our own proof that democracy could defend itself we made the ideal example which should enlist the devotion of the world to the cause of democracy."

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Comments of the Press

Suffrage A-march

AGENTS of the National Woman's Party report indications from President Wilson's neighborhood that encourage them to believe he may be prepared to expedite suffrage in the United States so far as Congressional action is concerned. Their impressions in this field are based upon the effect of war conditions upon the President.

War has already destroyed in England the anti-suffrage argument that women should not vote because they do not defend the country.

It is now accepted on all hands that suffrage for English womanhood has been assured by the demonstrations afforded by the war. For the war has disproved the lie that men alone fight wars. British leaders, their government close to the extremity of its efforts, have now been forced by sheer decency to declare that nothing but the devoted work of women in camp and field, and home and shop, have made Britain's fight possible, as far as it has gone.

The United States was rapidly coming to suffrage before the nation became involved in war. The administration can and should accept the circumstances of war as a highly proper occasion for subordinating preferences as to suffrage methods, and helping to make suffrage a fact, both as a token of appreciation of the great service the womanhood of the country is asked to render, as well as a politic step to remove a factor from public discussion that would otherwise contribute needlessly to domestic division in an important though secondary matter.

The President says he is for suffrage by state action. Here is a good occasion for him to put the weight of national action behind the cause. Those whose interest in suffrage is in the cause alone, and is not complicated or weakened by personal pride in their own theories about ways and means, will applaud national action as a great step to the end sought.

These are for suffrage because it is right. They don't care whether they get it from the vote of individual states or from the vote of a majority of states. They don't care whether they get it from the Democratic party, from the Republican party, from both parties, all parties, or no parties. They want it because it is suffrage, and because suffrage means social justice.

The *states-rights fallacy, emptily espoused* by a narrow school in the South, is especially unentitled to serious consideration by the suffragists of the Union at large, and especially by *thoughtful suffragists* in the South, because it is precisely the most lethargic states of the South that will be the last to grant suffrage on their own accounts. If federal action may possibly quicken anybody's step, *let us by all means have it.—New Orleans, La., News, June* 10.

A Supposed Democracy

THE franchise is a matter more of national than of local concern. The American nation is supposed to be a democracy. In a democracy few aspects of the political organization are of greater intrinsic importance than the right to vote.—*San Jose, Cal., Mercury, December,* 1916.

An American "Sight"

LORD NORTHCLIFFE, British high commissioner, spent a busy forenoon yesterday before calling on President Wilson in the afternoon.

Lord Northcliffe was introduced to the President by Assistant Secretary Phillips of the State Department.

He was much interested in the suffrage "silent sentinels" in front of the White House gates.—*Washington„ D. C. Post„ June* 17.

Suffrage Leaps Ahead

WHEN Woodrow Wilson conducted his first campaign for the Presidency he refused to commit himself on the suffrage question. When, in 1915, he voted for woman suffrage as a private citizen in his home state, New Jersey, he declared that it was a question which each state would have to settle for itself. Now, in 1917, the President has recommended the creation of a suffrage committee in the House of Representatives, and has given a delegation of suffragists to understand that he would urge the passage of the federal suffrage amendment at the next session of Congress. The inevitable logic of events and his own pleas for democracy have driven the President on and on from one who was, at best, very lukewarm on the question of woman suffrage to an advocate of the broadest and most radical measure of woman's enfranchisement.

Following the same psychological development, governors and mayors and legislators and minor public officials throughout the land are becoming converted to the inevitability of votes for women. Best of all, the women in every walk of life and in unprecedented numbers are being made suffragists, not by soapbox orators and editorial writers, but by the government itself, and by the demands which the government makes upon them. So long as the average woman felt politics and the machinery of government to be a thing apart from the interests of her personal life she could afford to remain indifferent toward the question of her political rights. But when the government forcibly takes away her husband and her son to face death in a foreign land, and when that same government enrolls her in a war census and compels her to submit her person and her property to the exigencies of war services, when it proposes to take her

children out of school and put them to work and to lengthen her own hard work day in shop or mill, then even the most thoughtless woman begins to think. She begins to question the justice of governments in forcing equal burdens upon her, while denying her equal rights.—*The New York Call, June* 12.

Selfishness and Suffrage

WHY should not the Woman's Party remain the political organization it started out to be and continue to work for the national enfranchisement of women, a cause that is inseparably linked with every phase of national preparedness and conservation, as well as with that world democracy itself for the advancement of which our nation has entered this war?

To suggest that women who have grasped the broader vision of the importance of woman's enfranchisement are selfish because they refuse to be turned aside, is utter childishness. If women generally were not so deadly afraid of subjecting themselves to the criticism of the opposite sex, the suffrage cause would have experienced complete victory long ago, but always the tendency to beg and plead has been a controlling force in the movement, so that naturally some folks are bound to be shocked by the demands of the newer school of suffragists who constitute the National Woman's Party.

The representatives of the Woman's Party who campaigned in the suffrage states last fall, urging the women voters to place suffrage first, were denounced as "selfish and narrow," just as Prohibitionists have been so denounced through the years for putting prohibition first. Any movement which undertakes to disturb the long established political alignments is sure to be misunderstood and maligned from one end of the country to the other by friends as well as enemies of the cause thus espoused. We do not agree with the plan and policy of the Woman's Party wholly, but when any one calls them selfish for sticking to the methods which they believe will focus thought and attention on the claims of the suffrage cause, and on the power of the administration to advance or retard the cause, we are inclined to feel that such critics are themselves "bigots."

The desire of women for the ballot is prompted no more by selfishness than the same desire on the part of men who have organized and fought revolutions to this very end. If women generally had been willing to sacrifice as men have sacrificed in order that they might have a voice in the government which controlled them and their families, the cause would have made far more rapid progress.

It is not selfish to desire above everything else to have the woman viewpoint combined with the man viewpoint in the administration of government.

It is not selfishness to continue to work in every possible way for true democracy at home, while we are sending armies to Europe to fight for world democracy.

The women all over our land will give in this war of their heart's blood, as they have always given, bravely and loyally. They will give besides a more efficient service than women have ever given in any war, because they are better organized and equipped as women to serve the nation in a multitude of ways, but they dare not, for the sake of the nation which they serve, and for the sake of that democracy for which their sons must fight on another continent, permit themselves to be turned aside from the vital task of working even harder than heretofore for the national enfranchisement of women. To turn aside would be selfishness; to keep steadily on is the embodiment of unselfish service for the nation and the world.—*The Patriotic Phalanx, June* 8.

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